

The Famine

termed" and here by poor treatment at least forty percent of the 731
ten thousand gathered in, died. 661

The urban population felt the shortage because of the reduction of the bread ration for the unemployed to two hundred grams a day. The majority could not patronize the commercial shops for they had nothing with which to pay and the legal allowance of other products as fat, sugar and barley were either reduced or omitted. Even the more highly qualified of the intelligentsia were obliged to sell all their trinkets and gold teeth to secure some food. The prices allowed were ridiculous. One teacher at these stores received for a silver dollar "500 grams of sugar, a piece of soap and 200 grams of rice."

Physicians were forbidden to enter "hunger" in the records of illness and death. They were ordered to give as the cause of death "BBO" (absence of white corpuscles). Sometimes it was recorded as "childish" or "old age" weakness, "paralysis of the heart," "diarrhea," all symptoms of death by starvation.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of deaths, 165
for even the indefatigable NKVD gave up the attempt to list the 731
deaths along the roads, in the fields, and in the streets of the cities. 661
Villages died out and this was indicated by the use of black flags on certain houses. In these cases no attempt was made to keep the records in order. The so-called "therapeutic hospitals" did not turn over their records or admit to their files the workers of the ZATS (The Records of the Acts of the Civil Population), who were the collaborators of the NKVD. Thus, in one of these therapeutic hospitals in Kiev there were at least 5,000 deaths from starvation that were not recorded in the official statistics.

Of course, none of these hardships were felt by the highly placed [554] ●
Communists and party officials. They received their food through party channels which were not accessible to the ordinary residents of the city or the kolhosps.

It is difficult to estimate accurately the number who perished in the famine, but it was approximately 4,800,000. This is certainly an underestimate, although certain other calculations will place the number between five and six million.

1 [-famine in Ukraine, 1933--Analyst]

Ukraine Under the Soviets

369 They could also, if they still had preserved any valuables, dispose
511 of them through the Torgsin stores which sold imported wares for foreign currency and precious metals.

• [554] Of course, neither in city or village did any of these restrictions apply to the more important Communists who possessed their own stores at which the government supplied them with the necessary articles to allow them to live in comfort and luxury as a welcome investment for the regime. The line of demarcation between the poor and the rich, the ordinary people and the Communists, became steadily greater, until it was often wider than it had been in the old tsarist Russian empire.

642 All these measures which had been adopted in Moscow were
631 in theory supposed to apply to all sections of the USSR equally, but it was not long before the natives of Ukraine realized that however impartial the laws might seem, they were not sufficiently flexible to take account of local and republican differences. The central regime was interested in advancing and developing the Moscow industrial area and it expended on this in various grandiose efforts, as the Moscow subway, enormous sums of money. It is safe to say that the expenditures in that one area alone equalled the entire budget and money spent by the central government in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. It classified Ukraine as one of the regions where the supply of manufactured goods was less necessary.

The crushing of the Ukrainian Communists, the suicide of Khvylovy and Skrypnyk, no less than the complete altering of the land code of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the substitution of the new policy of collectivization, showed perfectly well where the real power of the USSR lay in the thirties and it was accompanied by such acts as the introduction of Russian as the

[701] standard language of instruction and of the army. This was followed by the formal transfer of the Ukrainian divisions to the Red Army and a number of other acts which completed the subordination of the UkSSR. Already in 1930, during difficulties on the Soviet-Manchuria borders, the Red Army had not hesitated to

1 [after 1933-measures dealing with production, supply etc. - 11.11.13]

Ukraine After World War II

thousand karbovantsy in money. When we remember that, as a result of the Soviet tax system, a pair of shoes cost five hundred karbovantsy and a suit of average quality a little more than one thousand karbovantsy, we can see how dependent the average peasant is upon his small plot on which his egg tax is, whether he raises eggs or not, two hundred per year. In addition, from his cash resources he must buy the grain for his hens or raise it on his own plot. 474 434 241

It is small wonder that the foreign visitor is not welcomed on these collective farms except in a few places which are kept for show. In all of them the Communist heads receive very satisfactory living conditions with opportunities to purchase supplies at very moderate prices in shops devised for Communist administrators, and it is these administrators, and the Communists of the Motor Tractor Stations and the MVD who receive almost the entire income that is allotted to the collective farm. [554] [665]

The position of the city laborer is little better, although he receives in connection with his plant the opportunity of securing whatever the factory heads feel like giving him for food in the factory dining rooms. 465

In 1946-7, before Western Ukraine was fully Communized, there was another drought in the black earth region and once again starvation hung as a spectre over the entire population. Those who had the strength and courage to get to Western Ukraine in search of food were surprised how much food there was still to be found in those areas where the peasants were still allowed to use their own energy, skill and knowledge even on their own small farms which still looked like paradise to those poor devils who had passed through the period of the thirties. 731

Still later, collectivization was introduced into Western Ukraine and the other accompaniments of the regime in the east were at once apparent.

The Fifth Five Year Plan which was adopted in 1950 continued and intensified the process. From the figures which have been revealed, it is obvious that the increases which have been demanded of the Ukraine in this period are relatively minor. There 185

¹/₇ [Post-WORLD WAR II - 1945 -- Analyst]

Opening of the Ukraine

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German arrival.¹⁰ In the less sheltered districts, however, Soviet repression was horrible. According to German secret reports, 668* four thousand Ukrainian political prisoners were butchered in [661] the NKVD cellars of L'vov alone, and several times as many were deported eastward. Many of the latter were killed later when their captors could no longer hurry them on ahead of the German advance.¹¹ Meanwhile tens of thousands of Soviet officials and their dependents, along with a considerable portion of the large Jewish population of Galicia, streamed eastward to escape a similar fate at the hands of the German totalitarians.

On June 30, in the midst of the disorganization caused by these events, the advance units of the Wehrmacht reached L'vov. With them came the first groups of Bandera's followers. Some of these came legally in "Nachtigall"; others, including Iaroslav Stets'ko, came illegally, though with the incidental assistance of some German front-line units.¹² Having arrived in the Galician capital, the OUN-B was in a favorable position. The months of isolation from the world outside the Soviet Union had prevented most of the citizens of L'vov from hearing of the internal conflict of the OUN. Moreover, the horror of the last days of Soviet [554] occupation made the Germans seem like providential deliverers; the close contact enjoyed by the Bandera leaders with uniformed Wehrmacht soldiers greatly enhanced their prestige in their compatriots' eyes.

Just what assurances the Bandera adherents gave of their 668* backing by the Germans, just how far they themselves believed 642 they could rely on German support, is impossible to determine. Whatever inducements they used, immediately after their arrival the OUN-B group named Dr. George Polan'kyi, a prominent citizen, mayor, and succeeded in having a national representation "elected"; this they called together the same evening. They had hoped to secure the L'vov state theater, a hall of appropriate size and dignity for the gathering, but, finding it requisitioned by the German army, they were forced to resort to the small meeting

¹⁰ *Krakus'ki Visti*, August 6, 1941, p. 3.

¹¹ Report of the SP and the SD *Einsatzgruppen*, July 31, 1941, p. 13, NO 2151 (hereafter referred to as NO 2151).

¹² Interview 24.

657 ing World War II, the Soviet Government abolished the Ukrainian
798 Greek-Catholic Church by force, against the will of the popula-
661 tion, and destroyed the hierarchy of this Church. The Ukrainian
Greek Catholics who were in union with Rome were ordered to be-
come subordinate to the Greek-Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow,
who is backed by the Soviet Government.

000 The struggle of the Ukrainians against Russian imperialism did
not cease after World War II. It is being conducted in various
forms. In this struggle other peoples who are oppressed by Russia,
from the Baltic Sea to the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Turke-
stan, participate. Thus a common front of freedom-loving peoples
against despotic Russia is being created.

656 In 1949, Moscow has permitted Ukraine to use an own flag and
186 an own different anthem. However, this cannot be regarded an ex-
661 tension of the rights of Ukraine in the Soviet Union. It seems to
be more an attempt to bring the so-called satellite countries to the
Ukrainian level.

Moscow is watching attentively every expression of Ukrainian
political thought and national sentiment, and wants to have every-
thing under its control. The Decade of Ukrainian Culture held in
Moscow in July 1951, ended with rebukes and threats against the
participants of the Decade, and a 'purge' among the Ukrainian
Communists whom Moscow imputes 'bourgeois nationalism'. Only
the Russian Communists have been beyond any doubt as regards
their 'internationalism'; there was no case that the manifestations
of nationalism among the Russian Communists had been con-
demned by the Communist Party. On the contrary, Moscow is cul-
tivating an exaggerated national pride among the Russian people.
The Ukrainian Communists are under a especially heavy control of
● [554] Moscow. No Ukrainian has been General Secretary of the Commu-
nist Party of Ukraine. This position has always been occupied by
people sent from Moscow: Molotov, Kaganovich, Postyshev,
Khrushchev, finally Melnikov.

'Titoism' is no isolated phenomenon in the relations between im-
perialist Russia and Yugoslavia. Similar trends hostile to Russian
imperialism have existed among Ukrainian Communists since the
first days of Soviet Russian occupation in Ukraine. The Russian
terrorism prevented these trends, however, from getting strong.
Nevertheless, they exist clandestinely. Moscow's persecution of
'bourgeois nationalism' among the Ukrainian Communists gives an
eloquent proof of Ukrainian opposition against Russian im-
perialism.

795 Government. The centres of the Shtundists are in the
798 Kherson Government (the districts of Yelisavetgrad and Odessa), in the Kiev Government (the districts of Tarashchansk, Skirsk, and Zvenigorodsk), in the Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, and Poltava Governments, and to a less extent in Chernigov, Podolia, and Bessarabia. In their boycott of official churches, ikons, and priests, of military service, and to a great extent of the Government itself, the Shtundists are akin to other sectaries. One branch of Ukrainian sectaries combines the teaching of the Shtundists and that of the Baptists, and are called Neo-Baptists. The sectaries in the Ukraine, as elsewhere, were suppressed by the Russian Government, but those who have studied the question (e. g. Prugavin¹) state that they number more than 20,000,000.

793 *Position of the Clergy.*—On the whole it is true that the Uniat clergy in Eastern Galicia, Chołm, Polesia, and wherever the Uniat Church is found, as well as the leaders of the sects in the other parts of the Ukraine, exercise enormous influence over religious and social life. The persecutions they have undergone have strengthened their prestige among the peasants and even among the *intelligentsia*. The influence of the Russian Orthodox clergy, though many of them have been of Ukrainian nationality, has been limited to the religious sphere, since socially they have been generally regarded as Government officials by the peasants and still more by the *intelligentsia*.
● [554]

The clergy in the Ukraine are on the whole less educated than in Great Russia, i. e. they are mostly 'seminarists', not 'academicians'. The Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra, once known for its learning, has degenerated into a monastery in which some of the monks are illiterate. For the last twenty-five years the highest positions all over the Empire have been in the hands of the monastic clergy; and there was acute hostility between them and the secular clergy, who in

¹ See V. Anderson, *Old Believers and Sectaries*, Petrograd, 1908 (Russ.); also T. I. Buthevich, *Survey of Russian Sects and their Creeds*, Kharkov, 1910 (Russ.).

Gastronomes

443 In addition to the ration stores, Kiev has about five gastronomes,
 434 or commercial stores, where unrationed goods are for sale. Most
 262 of the gastronomes are stocked almost entirely with delicacies, such
 • 554 as Siberian crabmeat, live carp in water tanks, a little fresh meat,
 461 salami, candy, biscuits, and Russian cigarettes. (No UNRRA goods
 are sold in such stores). Until September 1946 the prices in gastro-
 nomes were so high that only a relatively small part of the population
 could afford to buy. The gastronomes were patronized primarily by
 those with high earnings - professors, theatrical stars, scientists, ar-
 tists, high ranking army officers, skilled technicians, etc. One of
 their main purposes was to show the average worker that some luxu-
 ries did exist, and thus encourage him to raise his skills and produc-
 tivity. Another purpose was to provide a special reward for various
 kinds of meritorious service. For example, war heroes and top gen-
 erals were entitled to a 40 per cent discount on all purchases made
 at a gastronome. Moreover, workers who had stayed at the same fac-
 tory for six years or more were entitled to a 20 per cent discount, and
 office workers with similar service to 10 per cent.

[435] In September 1946, in accordance with the decision of the Council
 of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to abolish differences between the higher
 "commercial" prices and the low prices of rationed goods, the prices
 in gastronomes were lowered and certain ration prices, raised somewhat.

[465] At the same time, taking into account the difficulties which aver-
 age and low-paid workers would encounter as a result of higher ration
 prices, the Council of Ministers decided to increase all salaries of less
 than 900 roubles a month. Thus, those workers who previously had
 earned up to 300 roubles a month received an increase of 110 roubles;
 those who had earned up to 500 roubles, another 80. Similar increases
 were allowed in pensions and in students' stipends.

So far as UNRRA food is concerned, the increases in ration prices
 have affected meat, fish, fats and oils; other categories of UNRRA
 food supplies particularly milk, cheese, and army rations were not
 affected.

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 435 The following table shows the increases in ration store prices.